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ABSTRACT

The second volume of the report outlines the theoretical framework and the ecology of the Appalachian Adult Education Center (AAEC) demonstrations of the interagency linkages of public library and public school services for disadvantaged adults. The following subjects are considered: (1) workable definitions of services; (2) nature of disadvantaged adults and what those characteristics imply about service needs and delivery; (3) influence of geographic location on service needs; (4) goals of educational and library services in sociological and historical terms; (5) goal displacement; (6) differences in organization of public schools and public libraries, including policy setting, library specialization, adult services for the disadvantaged; (7) public school specialization, adult basic education; (8) usefulness of these specializations in terms of numbers of adults served and effects on their lives; (9) permanence of these specializations; (10) needed changes in specializations; (11) service and financial advantages of coordination to the two institutions; (12) differences in the funding patterns of ABE and libraries; (13) self-selection, role expectations, and personalities of professional staff in the two institutions; (14) effects of accreditation on the goals and services of the two institutions; (15) role of professional associations; (16) combined reasons that coordination does not occur spontaneously. (Author)

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The Interrelating of Library and Basic Education Services for Disadvantaged Adults: A Demonstration of Four Alternative Working Models

Volume II

June, 1973

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Project Director: George W. Eyster

Chief Investigator: Ann P. Hayes

Institution Name: Appalachian Adult Education Center
Morehead (Kentucky) State University

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Morehead, Kentucky

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

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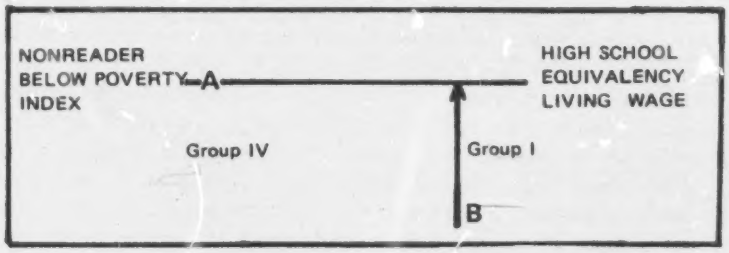
rely more heavily on media and other formal information sources, and probably could afford to buy information and services, although this is not presently demanded of them. These characteristics decline with the group.

Group IV is high in needs for transportation, child care, other supportive services such as counseling and referral to other agencies, adjustments in time, one-to-one services, and home delivery of services. They are, therefore, relatively expensive to serve. These needs decline directly with the group. Group I has minimal supportive needs.

Figure 2 demonstrates that in allocating available monies to serve all four groups, the *quantity* of money spent on individuals must vary in order to provide an equal *quality* of service to all potential patrons.

Figure 2

Differentiated Costs in Providing the Same Quality of Services to Different Groups



FISCAL CONSIDERATIONS

The bulk of disadvantaged adults who approach proferred library and ABE services have skills at about the level of arrow B, higher than those of the nonreader, but less than, although close to, what is necessary for effective functioning in society. They are from Groups I and II. Their speed of achievement is faster than the speed of those who start at the left hand side of arrow A—nonreaders with poor coping skills. Their need for a variety of services is less, and they are in need of services for a shorter time. A much needed change in service institutions involves serving those at arrow B and above—those whose needs are less—as economically as possible, to conserve a large portion of available monies to offer the same quality of services to those at the left end of arrow A, or those whose needs are greatest. This is a radical departure from the common current practice of allocating or dividing available dollars strictly by the numbers of persons served.

The Influence of Geographic Location of Service Needs

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

In addition to studying individual characteristics and their influence on delivery system needs, the AAEC has studied the impact of geographic location on (1) people's needs, and (2) the possible kinds of responses to those needs.[4] The two rural locations, Floyd County in eastern Kentucky, and the rural parts of Cabell, Wayne, and Putnam Counties near

[4]Ann P. Hayes and Anne Shelby, *Library/Information Service Needs of the Geographically Remote.* A paper prepared for the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. (Morehead, Kentucky: Appalachian Adult Education Center, Morehead State University, May, 1973).

Huntington, West Virginia, are both in Appalachia. The urban sites, Birmingham, Alabama, and Columbia, South Carolina, are in states which contain Appalachian counties.

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DISTANCE RAISES COST

As past AAEC studies have indicated, both library and adult education services were found to be more expensive to deliver to isolated areas in both total and per capita cost. This was true whether that isolation was one of shee distance from an urban area, or the result of rugged topography and bad roads, as in Appalachia. Studies by the Systems Development Corporation and by the AAEC estimate that the same service that costs $5.00 to deliver in an urban area costs $15.00 in a rural one—three times as much.[5] Reaching even an energetic self-generating Group I individual in an isolated area such as Appalachia, is more expensive than reaching a person with the same characteristics in an urban area, simply because of the distance that service has to travel, which limits the number of people one service dollar covers.

A TEAM: INFORMATION FINDER AND INFORMATION COMMUNICATOR

There is a problem beyond distance and bad roads, however. Physical isolation from sources of information has been found to result in a lack of facility in using information.[6] This lack of facility often results in a lack of belief in information—particularly in print—as a viable means for solving problems. In Appalachia, for example, although all four groups can be found, even Group I individuals are likely to require more personalized recruitment and services than their urban counterparts, hence, to require even higher costs for salaries for quality service in areas where the tax base is lower. In areas where people get most of their information from family, friends, and neighbors, new information—about an available service for example—doesn't get into the system easily. That seems to require an insider or communicator, often a member of the subculture. Either that communicator or a separate, often professional, information finder can locate information from "the outside" and pass it on. The key seems to be that the communicator be an insider. This can encourage a team approach, in which a paraprofessional (1) isolates individual information needs, (2) feeds them to the librarian, who (3) locates the information which (4) the paraprofessional then interprets to the patron. This need not—indeed, should not—be a lengthy process.

MASS MEDIA USED FOR RECREATION

Rural peoples often act like Groups III and IV in that they seem to use media, not for getting information, but rather for recreation. The media apparently is too impersonal, too "outside" to relate to the individual's life; for example, both the media's images of life outside Appalachia and the all-too-frequent stereotypes of life in Appalachia increase the actual geographic distance, discouraging Appalachians from thinking of the media as a source of information applicable to their lives.

CHILDER'S INFORMATION GHETTO

Thomas Childers' comment on the use of information by the urban disadvantaged is true of the Appalachian, also:

> . . . they are often locked into their own subculture. This removes them from the flow of popular information that exists in society at large. In effect they live in an information ghetto. Their information universe is a closed system,

[5]Reported at meeting at the National Reading Center, April 27, 1972.

[6]Henry W. Lamb, *The Broadcast Media—An Untapped Resource in Appalachia, North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C.: Report of the State Planning Task Force, 1969).

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harboring an inordinate amount of unawareness and misinformation (myth, rumor, folklore). While they do have informational contacts with the rest of society, these contacts are very often one-way information flows, via the mass media from the greater society. It can be expected, where the cultural uniqueness of the group is substantial, that the imported one-way communication runs the risk of being irrelevant or wrongly interpreted. Even more specifically, reliance on television as the primary mass medium -a one-way channel emphasizing entertainment rather than information- may result in an information void. While the group may be very rich in certain kinds of internally generated information, it is deficient in the information shared by the larger society.[7]

PROBLEMS OF RURAL AREAS

Rural areas, too, seem to be particularly laden with local constraints that hinder social change.

UNRESPONSIVENESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(1) Local commitments to serving the isolated and the disadvantaged may be weak. Many of those who hold decision-making power in rural areas are able to maintain that power because the people are scattered, unaware of their rights, and conditioned to believe that accepting help is an admission of failure and a disgrace. Local decision-makers are unlikely to encourage changes that alter the nature of their constituency.

SMALL COLLECTIONS, SHORT HOURS

(2) Most rural libraries have small collections, and those collections consist almost entirely of books. While most areas have some kind of library service, forty-three percent of Appalachian libraries fall below the American Library Association minimum standards for the size of collections by population size. Also, access to these minimal collections is limited because library open hours tend to be short.

MINIMALLY TRAINED STAFFS

(3) Many rural librarians—probably the majority—are not trained, even in traditional librarianship, and training in outreach services for the disadvantaged or information transfer by paraprofessionals is rare indeed. Salary schedules in rural libraries tend to be ridiculously low, which does not encourage career commitments to library work.

A question arises in the rural sites about which the AAEC is continually challenged. A majority of Appalachians of all four groups, treasure and defend the family, the land, and the church. While the time and money spent to persuade Group IV of the net benefits of information services would necessarily by more than those spent for Group I, of course, there is sometimes more than a lack of facility and belief in use of information—there is down-right hostility. Such information may be interpreted as threatening to cherished values.

WHY TRY?

The question is: So why do it? When rural residents seem resistant to change, to information from the outside, why go to the bother and the expense of giving them something they act as though they don't want in the first place?

[7] Childers, *op.cit.* p. 19.

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TO COPE WITH CHANGE

If rural life were not being dramatically changed already, perhaps one could argue for leaving them alone, that is, for leaving rural residents with no alternatives but to continue to live independently in pretty much the same way their grandparents did. But that is impossible: the mountains and the ubiquitous televisions are dotted with advertisements, and super-highways are slowly but surely making their way through the hills, gas stations and hamburger stands springing up behind. Presently the disadvantaged rural residents suffer more from the changes than they benefit from them. Without information or knowledge to cope with these changes, they are worse off than before. The result is an identity crisis with the disadvantaged Appalachian getting the worst of both worlds, the best of neither. The values of urban life--such as material aspirations, commercialism, and impersonality--are impinging on rural residents without the antidote of urban education and services. They get the poverty, limitations, and isolation of Appalachian life, for example, stripped of its dignity, beauty, and personalized and slower pace. Coping skill information delivered in a personal and non-threatening fashion seems to give the disadvantaged Appalachian options for the best of both worlds, and helps him to cope with the worst of both.

The Goals of Educational and Library Services in Sociological and Historical Terms

In theory public libraries and public schools in the United States are both concerned with serving a universal audience. Yet the large numbers of educationally disadvantaged and non-reading adults in this country attest to the fact that there is a disparity between theory and a full, effective delivery of services.

THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

Before an institution can render service, it must see itself as a service institution. Before an institution can be an agent for change, it usually must view its purpose as change. Historically there has been a philosophical debate about the purpose of educational institutions. (The reader is reminded that the AAEC takes the not-always popular position the the public library is an educational institution.) The age-old questions are asked: Is the purpose of these institutions to maintain stability through preserving knowledge and cultures by passing them down through the ages? Or are they instruments for social change? Or, if some combination of the two, in what proportions?

As on other occasions in history, today the philosophical debate has become a pressing practical need for decisions. With the growth since the 30's of technology, gaps have been growing between the Haves and Have-Nots in the United States. It would seem that we presently have a choice between (1) formalizing a class structure, or (2) using education as a medium for upward mobility in individual lives. Some of the antipoverty legislation for education is based upon the assumption that these decisions have been made in favor of education as an agent for personal change. However, the continued "special" status of these educational services at the local level in terms of funding and policies, indicates that either (1) there is not a grass-roots acceptance of the concept of education as an agent of change, or (2) the need for change is not acknowledged. For

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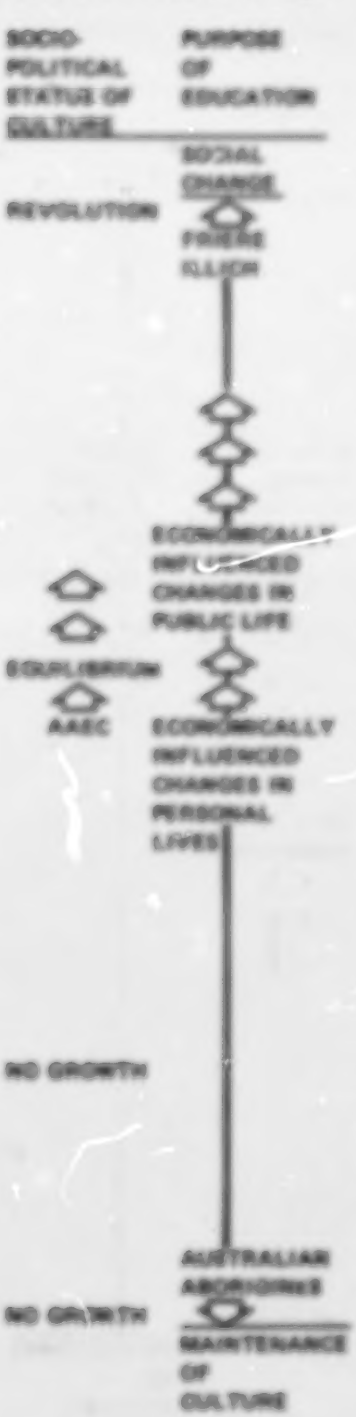
Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation Toward Maintenance or Change



example, relatively few adult basic education programs exist which are supported by state or local funds. When federal funds cease or are interrupted, so do or are the services. Special public library program to the disadvantaged also are extremely vulnerable in times of economic crunch.

The AAEC has come up with a graphic method of plotting institutional goals. Coordination of the services of public libraries and schools to disadvantaged adults is an undertaking exclusively dedicated to change. The goals of each institution can be located in position and direction of movement on a continuum ranging from an emphasis on maintenance of the status quo at one end to a commitment to effecting change at the other end. The tension between two opposing institutional orientations--(1) toward maintaining or transferring existing and past cultures or (2) toward promulgating social change--permeates almost everything the AAEC has examined in this project.

Plotting and comparing the philosophy and practice of the two institutions and of their individual personnel on a continuum such as that in Figure 3 aids in uncovering the problems of coordination between public libraries and schools.

To interpret this continuum, one would consider both (1) the stated intent of the service which determines the direction on the continuum, and (2) the results of the service which determines the position on the continuum.

For example, if organized attempts at changes in personal lives were being made, the direction on the continuum would be toward change. If no radical socio-political changes result from the educational program being offered, the position would be at equilibrium or stability.

The AAEC's stance is that neither end of the continuum is desirable. The AAEC's position on the continuum could be placed in the middle, pointing toward private quality-of-life changes. These changes, aimed at making lives more comfortable and productive through access to conventional wisdom (often inaccessible to a large part of the disadvantaged adult population), would be accomplished without altering the greater socio-political order.

Some current writers would disagree with the AAEC's direction and position on the continuum. Paolo Friere, for example, believes the only proper goals of adult literacy instruction are at the extreme change end of the continuum resulting in revolution. Friere believes that illiterates have been deliberately subjugated and cannot break out of their depressed ways of life without overthrowing their subjugators. Other writers, such as Illich, also would stand at the extreme change end of the line, although Illich and many others talk about educational reform and life-long learning as though they were Good within themselves, not instruments to accomplish something else. In contrast, those who yearn for "the good old days" and peoples such as the Australian aborigines of the past would stand at the extreme maintenance end in position and direction. For many centuries the education that took place among the Aborigines passed on only enough skills to allow for survival, nothing new to allow for change.

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When existing institutions are incongruent to the needs of a populace of any size, however, armed revolution may be seen as the only possible response. In developing this continuum, the AAEE found that when changes are not fast enough in the eyes of the disadvantaged and their champions, the arrow begins to move in position and direction toward the public life of armed or political revolution rather than toward changes in private lives. Obviously, changes in many private lives add up to dramatic social changes, but essentially not with the discontinuous of total revolution. The contingent arduous rebuilding of institutions caused by war usually does not seem to succeed any better at alleviating discomfort in private lives than the discarded institutions.

Extreme economic deprivation, when viewed as unfair and as being capable of remediation by the deprived, always seems to result in a view of education as an instrument of social change--whether in a developing country or in a developed country in troubled financial times, such as the Great Depression of the 30's and the burning of ISU cities as a reaction to poverty in the '60's.

Oddly enough, movements to change intellectual status seem to [illegible] been on a social change index than do movements to change the economic status of groups or of individuals. For example, the Sputnik movement of the '50's had nowhere near the social impact (or disruptiveness) of the economic remedies attempted in the '60's. The goal of Sputnik was to maintain national supremacy through scientific growth. Whenever the learned become socially important, the knowledge, i.e., the culture, of the past becomes desirable. Possession of such knowledge does not seem in itself to facilitate upward mobility, perhaps because it does not lend readily to everyday problem solving. However, one result of the Sputnik movement, which identified bright youngsters and attempted to develop their scientific abilities, was an illumination of the gap which had been growing since the 30's between the Haves and Have-Nots.

In comparing the Johnson and Nixon administrations on this continuum, one finds that their positions are the same--both administrations have, after all, offered approximately the same services. Their directions, however, are opposite. The Johnson administration, in expressing a determination to close the gap between the Haves and Have Nots, adopted predictably radical means such as handing the control of some of the anti-poverty efforts (i.e., part of the government) over to the disadvantaged and out of the hands of elected officials. While the Nixon administration has continued a most all of the services developed under the Johnson administration for the disadvantaged--often under the direction of Congress and of the Supreme Court--it has sought to discontinue many of them (i.e., to go back to things as they were) and to maintain or to reinstate forms of state, local, and federal government by returning all control [illegible] the hands of those traditionally in control of government.

Fiscal considerations often influence direction on the equal-service-change continuum. The Nixon administration, for example, defends attempts at closing programs on fiscal grounds--the need to more nearly balance the budget. Richardson, when still Secretary of HEW, and

Figure 3
Institutional Degree of Orientation Toward Maintenance or Change

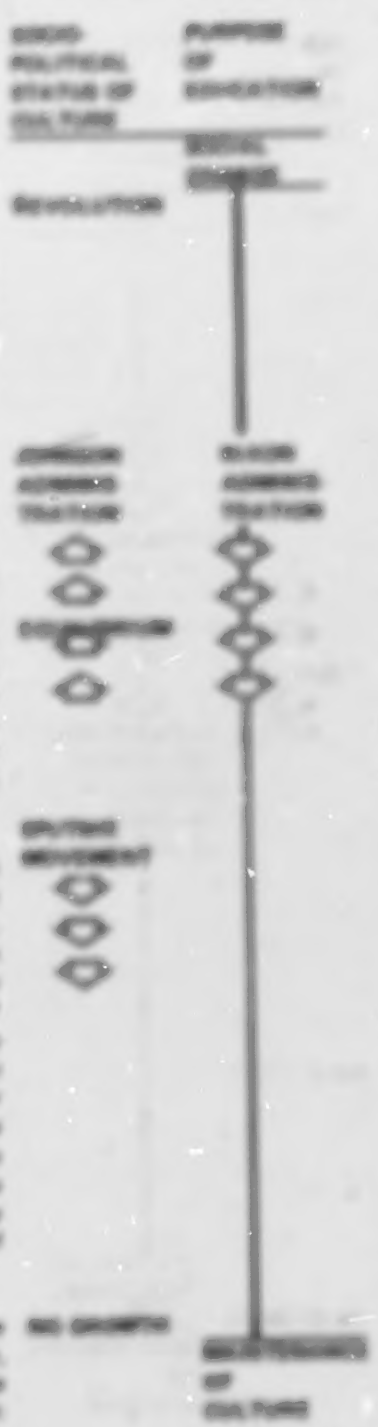

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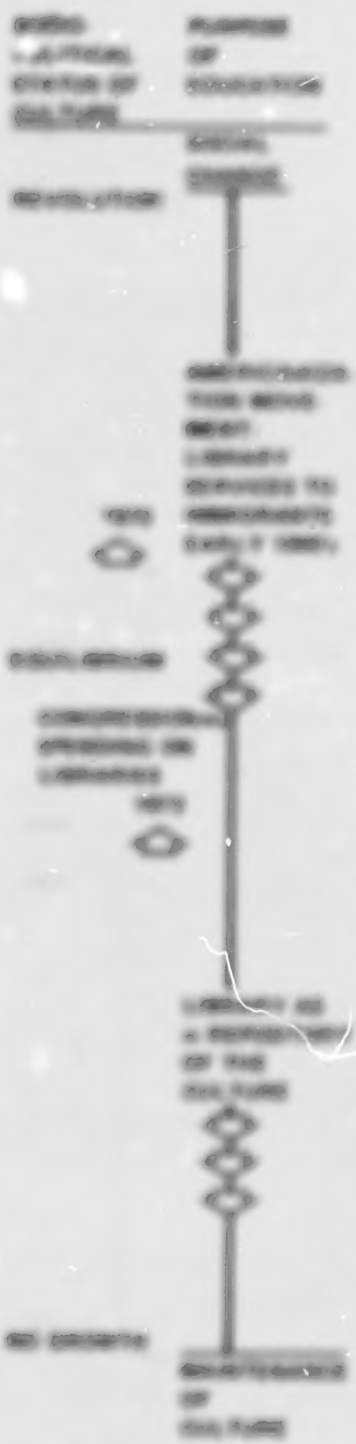
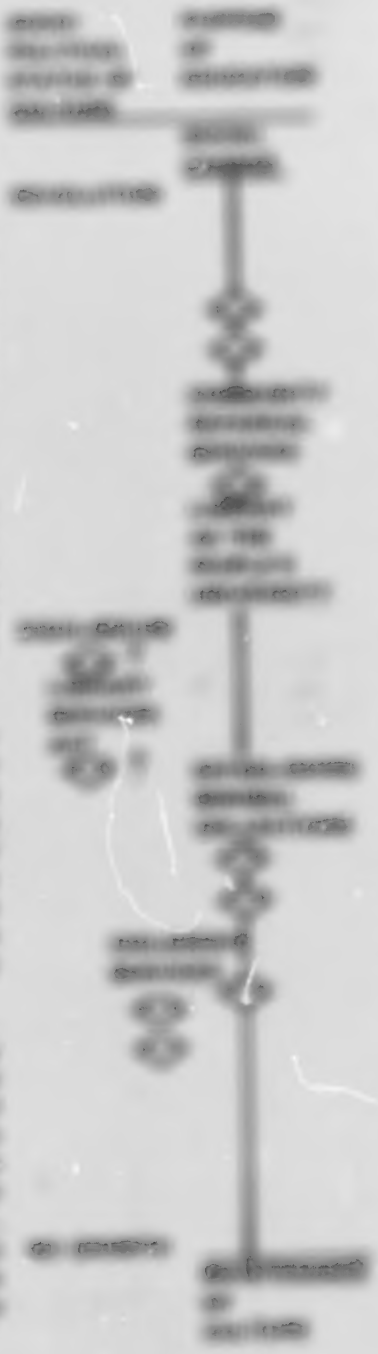
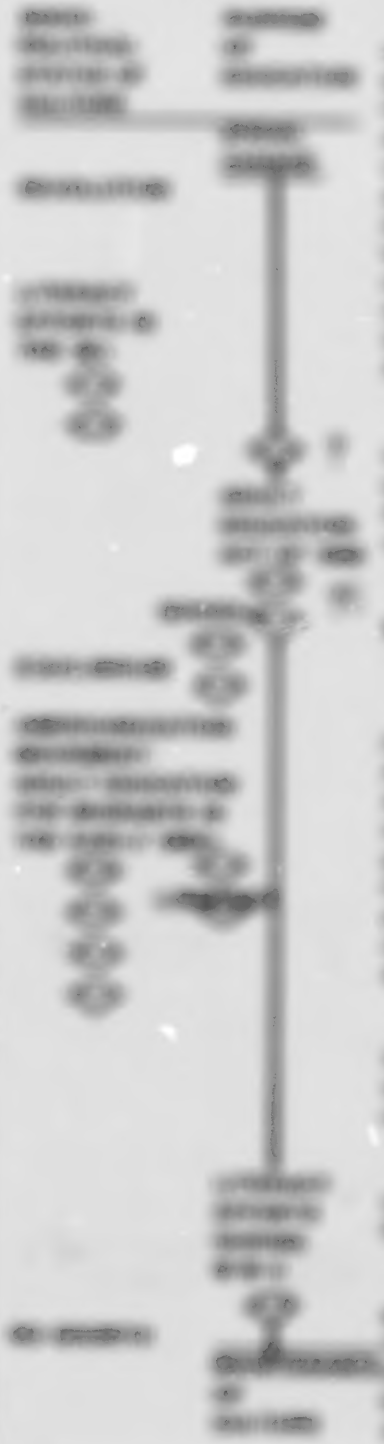
Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation
Toward Maintenance or Change







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SLOW GROWTH OF SPECIALIZATION

The reasons for the slow growth of specialization for disadvantaged adults in public libraries seem to be several:

USAGE

(1) Usage: Thirty-three percent of all children in the United States purportedly use public library services as compared to a mere ten percent of all adults.[11] (These widely cited statistics, however, are somewhat at variance with the several studies of the "typical" user which have found that person to be white, middle-class, female, and young-adult-to-middle-aged.)[12]

UNIVERSALITY

(2) Universality: There is a commonly voiced resistance in the library community, at least at the philosophical level, to implementing services for special groups. The argument runs that public library services are universal, that they serve "all of the people," and that to design special services necessarily drains resources from programs for those already being served. One could argue defensibly that library services are not universal but generally do represent a specialization—for the middle class. A counter argument that universality implies a series of publics rather than The Public does not seem to be widely accepted in the library community.

SERVICES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED ARE DESIRABLE TO ALL

One odd but useful characteristic of library programs especially designed for disadvantaged adults is that they are equally usable by and desirable to all adults. This characteristic does fit into the library world's desire for universality. As pointed out in the section above concerning the four client groups, the drawback is that the most disadvantaged need fairly expensive delivery systems if they are to take advantage of and benefit from services. Although these expensive systems are just as desirable to more affluent and self-directed adults, the latter group can profit from more economical services. One answer seems to be to offer the expensive systems in those service areas which house a large number of the disadvantaged knowing that all adults in the area will take advantage of them, and design less costly systems for advantaged service areas—a proposition which is a flip-flop from much current practice. At least one large urban library, however, the Philadelphia Free Library, reports that it has adopted just such a policy.

CHILDREN'S SERVICES

(3) Children's Services: The orientation of many librarians toward a repository or custodial function, as outlined at some length above, makes the transfer of culture inherent in children's services a more comfortable process.

RESISTANCE TO PROGRAMS

(4) Services or Programs: The very concept of library *services* or *programs* is uncomfortable to truly conservative librarians. One librarian, holding an MLS from an ALA accredited school known for its services to minorities, said to an AAEC representative, "Why do you keep talking about library *services*? Libraries don't perform services. They keep books, and people come and serve themselves."

NEED FOR OUTREACH IS NOT UNDERSTOOD

(5) Unfamiliarity with Clientele: Often even in those libraries where there is no active resistance to serving the needs of disadvantaged adults, the nature of these potential patrons, which makes requirements for

[11] Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949) p. 10.

[12] M. L. Bundy, *Metropolitan Public Library Users: A Report of a Survey of Adult Library Use in the Maryland-Washington Metropolitan Area*. (University of Maryland School of Library and Information Sciences, 1968).

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outreach services that actively seek out new clients important, does not seem to be widely understood or accepted. The library seems to be seen in a passive role, serving those who come.

OUTREACH RESISTED

(6) Limited Definition: Or distressingly commonly, *library* is defined as a building within which all endeavors must take place, rather than as an administation or staff operating out of a building as they offer services and programs. (This thinking is not limited to the library world. One of the chief blocks to true community education within the community school movement is the tendency to limit the definition of *school* to whatever is enclosed within four walls.)

NO SPECIAL PRIORITY FOR BASIC NEEDS

(7) Resistance to Making Value Judgments: Either because of the maintenance-of-culture orientation of many librarians, or a market-place supply-and-demand orientation, there sometimes seems to be a curious refusal to place values or priorities on different kinds of information. Basic human needs occasionally seem to get jumbled with human desires. The comment is heard, "Baseball scores or Emily Loring is as important to one person as consumer economics or birth control information is to someone else." Where it exists, such a position seems questionable.[13]

LACK OF RESPONSIVENESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(8) Local Control: The local funding and therefore local control of libraries make it difficult for librarians to be responsive to disenfranchised groups. The lack of responsiveness of local government was clearly demonstrated in the field of education in the March, 1973, Congressional hearings in Louisville, Kentucky. Gathering information on the continuance of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the House Education and Labor Committee asked several metropolitan and rural school superintendents what they predicted would happen to services to migrant children if such services were to be administered under discretionary funds through special revenue sharing. The prediction in each case, based upon past examples in each superintendent's community, was that community decision-makers could be expected to favor needs such as new boilers, band uniforms, and football equipment over services to children whose parents neither voted not paid taxes in that area.

While this type of oversight is more clearly evident for groups such as the foreign-born, migrant workers, and reservation Indians, local government historically has discriminated in subtle ways against the poor also. It was this tradition that prompted the Kennedy-Johnson designs against poverty, giving the direction of antipoverty measures out of the hands of local elected officials into the hands of the poor. The tradition of local government non-responsiveness makes responsiveness to the needs of disadvantaged adults an uphill struggle for even the most socially conscious librarians, since they must justify their spending policies to local decision-makers.

LIBRARY PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

Despite these problems, about a third of the libraries responding in a 1969 ALA study claimed to have some kind of program designed for the poor.[14] This is not terribly encouraging, since 1969 probably marked the height of the antipoverty effort. The good news from that study is that

[13]Harris, *op.cit.*

[14]Drennan, *op.cit.* p. 94.

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ninety-nine percent of all large urban libraries claimed to have special programs for the disadvantaged.[15]

FUTURE ADULT SERVICES

Another piece of good news—at least to those concerned with the expansion of public library services to adults, if not to all quarters of the library community—is the results of a 1972 Booz, Allen, Hamilton study. As Figure 5 shows, library personnel are reporting an increasing emphasis on adults services on the part of their agencies.[16]

Figure 5

PAST AND FUTURE RELATIVE PRIORITIES AMONG AGE GROUPS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

December, 1972		
Age Group Served	Percentage of Library Agencies Reporting as First Priority Five Years Ago	Percentage of Library Agencies Predicting as First Priority Five Years Hence
PreSchool (1-5 yrs)	14%	9%
Children (6-12 yrs)	30%	8%
Young People (13-20 yrs)	8%	9%
Adults (21-64 yrs)	48%	66%
Aging (65+ yrs)	0%	8%
	100%	100%

In summary, the following tend to hinder the growth of the library specialization of adult services for the disadvantaged:

(1) a orientation towards children's services

(2) a tendency to define a specialization of services as antithetical to, rather than complementary to, universal service

(3) a repository orientation

(4) fear of a service orientation

(5) a difficulty in understanding the need on the part of potential clientele for outreach services

(6) the definition of a library as a building

(7) a tendency to consider those programs which serve people's play activities as more or equally desirable to those which serve information needs for survival, and

(8) a lack of responsiveness to the poor on the part of local government.

In spite of these problems, however, the specialization is slowly growing.

[15] Drennan, *op.cit.* p. 94.

[16] Extrapolated from Cleveland Public Library, *National Survey of Library Services to the Aging*, [Final Report, Phase II] (Chicago, Illinois: Booz, Allen, Hamilton Foundation, December, 1972), Exhibits 18 and 19, following p. 23.

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ADE WAS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS

In response to a very specific Congressional mandate, the public schools have been developing a specialization for disadvantaged adults since 1965--adult basic education, or ABE. The funding for ABE through public schools falls under Title III of ESEA, i.e., the Adult Education Act of 1966. (It should be noted, although it is outside the purview of this report, several pieces of legislation in addition to the Adult Education Act mandate the development of ABE. Most of this legislation is administered through the U.S. Department of Labor rather than the U.S. Office of Education, but much of it is subcontracted to school systems at the local level. Also, some other institutions such as community colleges and volunteer groups are engaged in offering ABE as a part or a whole of their services.)

STATE DIRECTORS

The Adult Education Act has promoted the development of a state plan for adult basic education in every state and the appointment of at least one person in the state department of education (known as the state director).[17] However, Congressional appropriations have been low, less than one dollar annually for each known potential ABE client in the country, and ABE is far from being universally available in every school district. Furthermore, state--and more particularly local--fiscal authorities for education have been very slow to allocate or to vote additional funds for ABE. While a few states with large metropolitan areas had started funding ABE before the advent of federal funds (e.g., California, New York, and Michigan), this hesitation on the part of other states to follow suit keeps the national ABE program in a constant state of peril--with resulting low morale on the part of many of the professionals engaged in ABE and an equivalent hesitation to make a full-fledged professional commitment to the field. Consequently, the bulk of ABE is offered part-time, usually in the evening, by moonlighting teachers whose primary professional commitment is to childhood education.

LOW FEDERAL FUNDING

FEW STATE OR LOCAL FUNDS

MOONLIGHTING TEACHERS

COMMITMENT TO ABE VARIABLE

Part of the reason that ABE is not universally available is that the education of adults is not seen by many local (and even some state) superintendents as a part of his or her responsibilities. Childhood education is seen as their only trust. Many, indeed, see adult education as a net loss in their community, despite growing evidence to the contrary. Since the state plan in many states calls upon the local school superintendent to apply for these state-administered federal funds, s/he can deprive the community of ABE simply by failing to make this application. In a few states, local areas must come up with the matching funds (which are supplied by most states as their total input into ABE). When Local areas must provide matching funds, the areas with the highest incidence of illiteracy and poverty are the most likely to be without ABE for lack of sufficient resources.

ABE SEEN AS A CRITICISM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There has been an unfortunate tendency in some quarters to define ABE as a remedial program rather than as a developmental program. At first blush this might not seem to be too important, but the view of ABE as a "janitor program which cleans up the messes of the public schools" increases resistance to it on the local level by those with a vested interest in public school education. Their only possible response to such a view of

[17] In a very few states, ABE is administered through higher education, i.e., community colleges or universities, rather than through the state department of education.

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ABE is to assume that nonreading adults are unreachable since they didn't profit from earlier education, and therefore, to try to teach them is a waste of tax money.

BROADENING OF ABE CURRICULA

The term *adult basic education* reflects an evolution in thinking on the part of the adult education community. In the early 60's it became evident that a number of unemployed persons who had been placed in newly funded manpower development programs could not benefit from training due to low literacy skills. Academic or literacy programs were funded then to cope with this problem. The experience of a few years demonstrated that the problems of these individuals were a good deal deeper than a straightforward lack of reading skills. It began to appear that the culture that grows up in a nonprint and a relatively orally nonverbal environment promotes other lacks which make it difficult for individuals to lead comfortable and productive lives. These skills which are sometimes lacking are referred to as *coping, survival, or life skills*. ABE, particularly its full-time programs, is developing more and more offerings in coping skills instruction in addition to academic skills instruction. As was mentioned above, those programs which rely heavily on moonlighting teachers with scanty training in adult education also rely heavily on day school childhood education techniques, techniques which tend to promote the transfer of culture fairly effectively but do not effect the dramatic changes in individual lives so badly needed. Stressing application of new skills in daily problem-solving in addition to development of those skills does seem to result in such dramatic changes.

ABE SERVICES ARE NOT UNIVERSALLY DESIRABLE

Unlike the services of the public library which are specialized for disadvantaged adults, ABE is of little use to the general population. Oftentimes ABE is incorporated into general adult education or community offerings, however, to remove some of the onus of a "square-different" label. The fact that ABE is not universally desirable has imbued it with a strong economic orientation; that is, getting people off welfare and gainfully employed is probably too often used as a defense for the existence of ABE programs. While this is an appealing argument for support of the programs to literate taxpayers, it doesn't speak to the needs of many actual and potential ABE students who may be too old, too handicapped, or have too many small children to be employed.

ABE IS A FACT

Nevertheless, despite its several problems, such as (1) minimal funding, (2) mostly part-time and minimally trained staff, (3) lack of commitment on the part of many local school administrators, and (4) inappropriate traditionalism in the course offerings, there is in ABE a very specific and widespread specialization for disadvantaged adults nationally through public schools. While the history of literacy efforts in the United States does not give rise to any great optimism about the future of ABE, the strong specialization that presently does exist should be strengthened and augmented as intensively as possible.

The Usefulness of the Two Specializations in Terms of Numbers Served and of Effects on Lives

A review of the specialization of services of both libraries and schools indicates that both institutions have been very slow to serve the

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twenty-five to fifty percent of the adult population who can be defined as "disadvantaged" by educational or economic grounds--and later yet in numbers in public libraries than in public schools.

DOES ABE MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

One would suspect this state of affairs is the result of some mutual if implicit understanding on the part of these institutions and their nonusers. A pertinent question, therefore, is whether specialization of services in the two institutions promotes the desired differentials (upward mobility) in the lives of disadvantaged adults. The recently concluded national longitudinal study by the System Development Corporation for USOE's Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation, clearly shows the desired impact on adult lives with involvement in ABE.[18] On the other hand, not very many people are exposed to ABE. Even it is only serving about five percent of its target population annually, or about 850,000 persons a year.

YES--FOR THOSE SERVED

Since ABE is in closer client contact, and is therefore able to ask the necessary questions and to keep more complete records, cause and effect are much easier to infer in life style changes concurrent with the provision of ABE than concurrent with the provision of library services.Most studies that the AAEC has been able to locate which look at the impact of public library services treat reading as an end in itself rather than as an instrumental skill. The questions asked are usually of the order, "Do you read more? Visit the library more often? Own more reading materials?" One study by Bone and Reicost of exemplary reading and reading-related programs did develop a questionnaire which recognized the instrumental qualities of reading. This questionnaire, which in 1970 was really ahead of its time, asked questions about program impact on such reading skills as voting, driver's licenses, banking, taxes, home and child care, and employment.[19] However, the AAEC has not been able to locate any data collected using this questionnaire.

DO SPECIALIZED LIBRARY SERVICES MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

PROBABLY DATA IS SCARCE

It should be pointed out that the ubiquitous paucity of data on the impact of public libraries on quality of life has made it difficult in Congressional hearings for librarians to defend the need for continued appropriations at the national level. Since Congress does continue to espouse a social change position when allocating funds, that kind of evidence is needed. Vignettes reported to AAEC representatives indicate that this impact does exist even though not documented.

As is the case with ABE, not very many disadvantaged adults are exposed to libraries. While most estimates of library usage indicate that ten percent of all of the nation's adults, or ten million people, are using libraries, few of those library persons can be classified as disadvantaged.

LARGER NUMBERS NEED TO BE SERVED

The conclusion seems to be that properly designed programs in both libraries and adult education do accomplish their goals of effecting the upward mobility of formerly disadvantaged adults. But nowhere near enough adults are exposed to any specialized services to make the well-designed programs which have proven effective.

[18] Nelson, R. Rom, *A Longitudinal Evaluation of the Adult Basic Education Program* (Falls Church, Virginia: Systems Development Corporation, November, 1973), especially pp. 2-10 to 2-26.

[19] Bone, Reicost & Associates, Inc., *A Study of Exemplary Public Library Reading and Reading Related Programs for Children, Youth, and and Adults* (Cambridge, Mass.: Bone, Reicost & Associates, Inc., circ. 1973), pp. 2-6-7 and 2-6-8.

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BOTH SPECIALIZATIONS ARE MARGINAL

Part of the lack of growth of these specializations seems to be accounted for by their precarious hold on the agencies helped today. A persistent lack of permanence does not encourage long-term planning and narrows the creativity of professionals to spread their meager funding thinner, i.e., over more programs. Such a spread has not proven sufficient enough to be an investment which says additional funding.

AGE IS INSTITUTIONALIZED FOR THE PRESENT

The marginal status of both ABE and adult services in their parent institutions leads to a high attrition rate in staff and in programs. Its persistence seems to a discouraging degree that the slightest boost is sufficient impetus to give many host institutions new weighting on specialized services to disadvantaged adults.

THE LIBRARY SPECIALIZATION IS PRESENTLY WEAK

The persistence of adult basic education has been short only in one length, in scope, it seems that several states have thoroughly institutionalized a responsibility to the education of educationally disadvantaged adults. Some full-time professionals do exist. ALL FIVE states have programs although of varying strength and effectiveness. However, the history of literacy movements in the United States gives cause for a pessimism about the future of ABE.

LOW JOB STABILITY FOR PARAPROFESSIONAL THREATENS SPECIALIZATIONS

Library adult services for the disadvantaged are also strongly institutionalized. The strongest institutionalization is in the LSCA priorities at the federal level, but LSCA appropriations exist to be a yearly peril. Even under the LSCA priority for the disadvantaged, this term is frequently interpreted as children and youth, and in some cases all LSCA-funded adult services for the disadvantaged exist. The Exec. Dirs. Rejection study of future library priorities outlined above sees some hope in future library commitments to services to adults. Whether disadvantaged adults are included in those plans is not known.

THE ABSENCE OF MAJOR BARRIERS

Low discretionary of service to disadvantaged adults and discouragers institutionalization in both institutions is the nature of paraprofessionals. In both ABE and libraries indigenous personnel who have consumer problems similar to those of the individuals' clientele seem to be able to offer the most effective service as communicators to meet under the supervision and with the help of professionals. But these staff members generally are not committed and are subject to less job security than professional personnel. When they go, so does the program.

The most discouraging word of all, however, is that there seems to exist that the intensity of federal antipoverty efforts is diminishing in this time of inflation and higher taxes, the Kaiser campaign both have but are too willing to share what they do have with the have nots. Why, I cannot be denied that the antipoverty war was not an instant success. This is not surprising, since techniques for changing people's lives cannot be learned quickly with the advent of federal funding, and but of good ideas or traditional techniques were successful when applied to the problem. The combination of too many and usually unjustified accusations of poorly managed programs does not create a rosy future for other participation.

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ROLE EXPECTATIONS

There appears to be some general differences in role expectations between the two groups of professionals which may be related to the personality types who select themselves into the professions. While ABE teachers seem to be service-oriented, they appear to define their jobs only in relation to their students. They do not seem to seem themselves as having a supportive function with other professionals who are less familiar with their clients.

ABE STAFF

The personality type of successful ABE staff (if there is such an entity) seems to be outgoing, egalitarian, empathetic, energetic, somewhat service-oriented, but private. They seem to think largely in terms of "my students in my classroom." As a gener lization with many exceptions, teachers, including ABE teachers, are isolated from other social services.

LIBRARIANS

Librarians, on the other hand, in the AAEC experience seem to handle supporting other professionals easily, but often appear uncomfortable in certain kinds of client contact—particularly with people of a different social class. There are obviously many librarians who are outgoing, insightful, and at ease with all patrons, but librarians seem to be shyer persons, generally, than ABE teachers, and many need help in relating to a disadvantaged adult group. They seem to be less convinced of their abilities as social change agents. However, in these AAEC centers where ABE teachers were encouraged to be and were supportive of librarians, those librarians with doubts about disadvantaged adults or their own relationships to them found themselves to be extremely effective (sometimes, it seemed, to their surprise) in drawing information needs from ABE learners and meeting those needs.

In review, ABE teachers as a group have less professional commitment to adult education than librarians have to library work. However, the commitment to the library specialization analogous to ABE—adult services to the disadvantaged—really is too small to be assessed. ABE teachers are plagued with little time, with uncertain job tenure, lack of a deep career commitment, and with uncertain criteria for job holding. They are often aided by the relative strength of the ABE specialization within the public schools, by their own service orientation, and by their stability in their communities.

Librarians are often hindered in their services to disadvantaged adults by their own timidity, by the uncertain status of nonprofessionals, by correspondingly little time, and by their lack of familiarity with community needs because of their geographic mobility. They are aided by their relative job stability, and can be successfully supported by agency personnel such as ABE teachers in expanding services to disadvantaged adults.

The Effects of Accreditation on the Goals and Services of the Two Institutions

THE STRUGGLE FOR PROFESSIONALISM

Librarians are still engaged in the fight for professional legitimacy that teachers faced in the 20's and 30's. At one time it was as common to describe oneself as a "professional teacher" as it is now to describe oneself as a "professional librarian." Accreditation is a more pressing (and

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emotional) issue today in the library world than in the teaching world. While accreditation is a fact for most teaching staffs, (other than paraprofessionals), it is not a fact among library workers. Small libraries are lucky to employ one professional librarian. Several states have passed laws for accrediting librarians, laws which they have been unable to implement because salaries are too low—particularly in rural areas—to attract trained librarians. Library specialists in adult services to the disadvantaged have not yet become numerous enough to warrant state regulation in most states.

ABE STAFF ACCREDITATION: THE STATE

ABE has advanced beyond a specialization to an independent institution in many states to the point of state teacher certification or accreditation. However, those states which established accreditation earliest seem to have had the most traditional culture-transfer-like requirements. These requirements may not include any mention of adults or the disadvantaged, i.e., all that is required to teach ABE is a teaching certificate. Newer accreditation often stresses teacher preparation that is designed to lead to social change for their students.

LIBRARY STAFF ACCREDITATION: THE SCHOOL

The prestige of accreditation in the library world encourages greater exclusivity and restrictiveness in terms of the requirements for certification. Consequently, library science offerings in higher education are slow to change for fear of losing accredited status. Only recently has there been a move to devote any real time in the library curriculum to the service areas which promote social change in terms of upward mobility by differentiating services for different publics. Even yet, in most library science curricula these courses are offered late in the curriculum as electives. That is to say, library curricula have developed along traditional, custodial, rather mechanistic lines which further the view of the library as a repository rather than as a dispersal or service agency. Some of the most innovative library science curricula seem to be in non-ALA accredited schools. This lack of accreditation, however, affects the job opportunities of their graduates, especially as the labor market constricts. Many library agencies will only hire graduates from ALA-accredited schools.

THE GROWTH OF GRADUATE STUDY IN ABE

In 1965, when the bulk of federal funds for ABE became available, few graduate departments of adult education existed. Those that did exist were devoted mostly to forms of adult education which do not seem to be particularly well suited to the needs of disadvantaged adults. As these and the first new departments of adult education developed a sequence for graduate preparation in ABE, the curricula were exceedingly traditional—of a culture-transfer variety. However, adult education research and demonstration funds went to the same persons who began to build graduate departments, since there were so few professionals engaged in ABE-like endeavors when federal monies became available. This historical accident has developed increasingly innovative and change-oriented curricula, especially in the newer graduate departments of adult education. Consequently, new ABE professionals, where they exist, tend to have quite a different orientation from new library professionals, both because of the curricula offered to them, and because to be graduate students in ABE in the first place requires a prior career commitment to a client group (disadvantaged adults) and to the specialization of adult basic education. However, there are few new ABE professionals, relatively speaking (although infinitely more than five years ago). The majority of ABE staff have had no university training. In fact, in too many cases there

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has been no training at all, or, at the most, a few days of pre- or in-service training. With the advent of the USOE regional staff development policies and practices in 1971-72, however, more and more graduate courses and intensive training in methodology are being offered where ABE teachers have access to them.[24]

The Role of the Professional Associations

ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS

Over the years public school adult education has developed its own national, state, and local professional associations, under the auspices of the National Association for Public and Continuing Education (NAPCAE). Adult education sponsored by other institutions, such as universities, have developed their own professional associations also. One reasonably strong umbrella association exists—the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (AEA). NAPCAE and AEA have developed active units devoted to ABE, known respectively as the ABE Committee and the Commission on ABE. NAPCAE in particular acts as an advocate and lobbyist for its membership.

NAPCAE AND AEA

No certification of graduate departments of adult education exists outside of normal college accreditation procedures. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has developed minimum accreditation levels for separately administered adult high schools similar to those it has developed for high schools devoted to the education of teenagers. In those states with ABE certification requirements which include adult education course work or training, the emphasis is on *what* the potential employee has studied, not *where* more university faculty members and consequently appears to strive more toward professional legitimacy (with all its accompanying traditionalism).

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The libraries have their own, stronger, professional association, although many librarians belong to AEA. The American Library Association (ALA) has a grip on the library world, however, outside of the experience of the adult education associations. While NAPCAE, AEA, and some of the other adult education associations publish journals regularly and monographs occasionally, ALA is a major publisher in the library field. Moreover, in addition to professional lobbying, ALA is the official accrediting agency of graduate departments of library science. ALA also runs a placement service. Consequently, this professional association has the two somewhat contrary functions of keeping people *in* the library profession through lobbying, placement, and other advocacy activities and *out* through rigorous accreditation procedures. ALA has among its semi-autonomous divisions the Reference and Adult Services Division (RASD), which considers the specialization of library services to adult "special publics" according to the ALA Handbook. ALA also has an administrative office, Library Service to the Disadvantaged (LPD) which acts in an advocacy relationship to the divisions. LPD does not have a membership as do the divisions, however, which probably softens its impact.

ALA is in a better position to initiate change through sheer numbers. It has ten thousand members—almost twice the combined membership of

[24]The regions conform to the ten DHEW regions.

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NAPCAE and AEA. Yet the tension between its functions somewhat neutralizes its effectiveness as a change agent in its professional field.

When attempting coordination between public libraries and adult basic education, the differences in orientation of the two sets of staff members needs to be understood. Striving for professional legitimacy through accreditation is more central to library workers. Probably this is because in the public eye all library staff members are librarians, regardless of training or the lack of it, while most ABE staff are actually certified teachers. By historical accident graduate curricula in adult education are generally considerably freer to change and more service-oriented than library curricula so newly trained ABE staff should be, at least theoretically, more open to and able to design services to effect change. Adult education *associations* are probably also much freer to initiate change in their fields than is the American Library Association. Whether they have the ear of their members so they can act on this freedom is debatable.

The Combined Reasons that Coordination Does Not Occur Spontaneously

In reviewing this kaleidoscope of institutions, people, roles, needs, resources, and resistances—all of the pressures for and against coordination of public libraries and public schools in the common aim of alleviating poverty and undereducation in the adult American population—the chief pressures *for* coordination seem to revolve around need; the chief pressures *against* coordination seem to center around traditionalism.

This summary section outlines this volume. Discussions of items in the summary figures are discussed in more depth in the text. Figures 6, 7, and 8 review needs. Figures 9, 10, 11, and 12 review obstacles to service.

Figure 6

Needs of 97,000,000 Adults

Personal Independence or Self-Direction

New Coping Skills

NEEDS OF DISADVANTAGED ADULTS

ABE	LIBRARIES
1. Instruction in Reading	1. Library as an Information Agency
2. Instruction in the Application of Reading	Interagency Linkage
Interagency Linkage	Including Community Referral
3. Outreach	2. Special Materials
Including Home Services	3. Outreach
	Including Home Services

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NEEDS OF ABE AND LIBRARIES

Figure 7

Needs of the Two Institutions That Can Be Met Through Coordination

1. To Serve Larger Public
2. Interagency Professional Help
3. Data for Accountability
4. To Tap Other Sources of Funds
5. Public Relations

STIMULATION TO COORDINATION

Figure 8

Movements in the Two Institutions Toward Services Which Encourage Coordination

SERENDIPITY	LIBRARIES	ABE
Some Full-time specialists	X	X
Involved in Professional Associations	X	X
Instructional Use of Services for the Disadvantaged		
Nationality		X
Urban Areas	X (Adults?)	X
Information Agency Concept	X	
Peoples University Tradition	X	
LSCA Priority	X	
Adult Education Act		X
Coping Skills Concept		X

POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE PUBLIC

In addition to the movement toward services on the part of the two institutions, the target audience and the general public also respond in ways that encourage coordination:

1. Some members of Groups I and II already use both ABE and public library services.

2. Library services for disadvantaged adults are universally desirable to adults and young adults.

The urgency to action that might seem to be engendered by the needs of half of the adult American population, not to mention the needs of the institutions themselves, is off-set by long lists of pressures against (1) any type of new service or the specialization of existing services for disadvantaged adults, or (2) coordination of existing specializations. In reviewing this list, the most important question must be whether the needs outlined above are important enough to this country for it to muster the energy needed to overcome the obstacles. It is startling to contemplate the number of Americans who are Have Nots by any standard--starving is the sense in an underdeveloped or a developed country--and the number of other Americans who refuse, or choose not to accept the fact that these numbers of deprived exist in their midst.

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Figure 9

PASSIVE RESISTANCE FROM THE TARGET GROUP

OBSTRUCTIONS TO COORDINATION

ABE STUDENTS

PROBLEMS NOT SEEN AS INFORMATION NEEDS	
ABE	LIBRARIES

Figure 10

LIBRARY TRAINER DISCUSSIONS SPECULATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGES AND THEREFORE COORDINATION WITH ABE

LIBRARIES

1. Repository function, i.e., anti-elitism or pragmatic activism
2. Interpretation of the concept of universality
3. Small collections
4. Ethnically trained staffs, especially in rural areas, set in library science but in ethnicity
5. Advisory capacity of state agencies
6. Few adult services librarians
7. Few librarians with primary duties to the disadvantaged
8. Thrust towards children's services
9. Resistance to disadvantaged adults
10. Fiscal boundness
11. Index of reading as an end in itself
12. Hours open not concurrent with ABE
13. Success of paraprofessionals
14. Xenophobia held in low esteem
15. Problems of professionalization

Figure 11

ABE TRAINER DISCUSSIONS COORDINATION WITH PUBLIC LIBRARIES

ABE

1. Culture-transfer aspects
2. Part-time staffs
3. Marginal status
4. Success of paraprofessionals
5. Not offered concurrently with library hours
6. Ethnically trained staffs
7. Ely-erudition-shy classroom syndrome, i.e., lack of support by other professionals
8. Fiscal boundness

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